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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1422

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## BULGARIA

### SOFIA DAILY VIEWS CARTER B-1 DECISION

Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 2 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Emil Aladzhemov comment: "The B-1 Case"]

[Text] This case has not been closed. The U.S. President made a statement on it on Thursday, late at night. During his tenth press conference (which followed hundreds of other statements) President Carter said that, on principle, he does not intend to allow the U.S. Air Force to rearm itself with B-1 bombers.

However, many "buts" followed this statement. In the first place, Jimmy Carter immediately asserted that "tests of the prototypes of these aircrafts should continue." Promptly he added that his decision was not definite, since "if at the end of a few years our relations (relations of the United States--OTECHESTVEN FRONT editorial note) with the USSR should deteriorate, which, I (Jimmy Carter--OTECHEVSTEN FRONT editorial note) do not expect to happen, then, perhaps we should revise our decisions." Thus, there are too many conditions added to this categorical decision. The explanation of this tactic should not prove very difficult and is not very mysterious. It is sufficient to recall that during his recent election campaign Jimmy Carter had very strongly rejected the B-1 project and described it as senseless waste of billions of dollars, (some people estimate the costs of the project as amounting to 25 billion dollars). Does not his present statement seem to be a shift from the former categorical rejection to a full withdrawal from the promises given? The more so, since this "revision" is not the only one.

The press conference of the U.S. President deserves to be discussed also from another point of view. The problem of the B-1 is being discussed in the general context of a feverish arms race to which Jimmy Carter failed to impose a resolute "stop." This is another example of his withdrawal from former (and also present) claims of his "disarmament mission," a withdrawal showing a lack of moral strength.

A few days ago there was noisy talk about a U.S. project for a neutron warhead. It is being asserted that this weapon is the "most modern among

nuclear weapons." Carter himself, at his present press conference glorified the Cruise Missile (as one of the most basic obstacles to the SALT-II agreement), in order to temporarily stop the production of B-1. The U.S. press is full of other similar sensations. Only a few days ago there was much talk about an announcement on the F-18 Hornet aircraft. This is described as the main U.S. Air Force weapon for the eighties. There is constant talk, discussion and indoctrination about Trident missiles, laser weapons and many others. At the press conference of the U.S. President there was no categorical statement reproaching this rearmament hysteria, and especially this nuclear rearmament hysteria existing in the United States.

This is what happens on the stage. Behind the stage, however, (and quite visible) are the sinister corporations Northrop, MacDonnel Douglas and Rockwell International in addition to another 3,000 servicing enterprises (serving B-1). They have numerous relations with the Congress and the Pentagon. They have loyal and skillful "lobbies," in the complex game of "parliamentarism." In the United States, the decision of the Senate is being awaited now, after the House of Representatives has already given its blessing to the B-1. And as long as the Senate has not adopted its decision, the President will maneuver. He will make statements, and reject them when this is necessary.

Jimmy Carter himself during the press conference used an expression deserving of attention. He said that his conditional decision on the B-1 should be considered as "an asset in the bargaining with the USSR on SALT II." I would like to take the liberty to observe that such a statement particularly needs real evidence.

Many questions that are typical of the United States are reflected in the B-1 case. Unfortunately, the statements of the President did not bring about that clarity and categorical character which are so necessary at the present moment.

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### PARTY DAILY OBSERVES U.S. NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Jul 77 p 6 AU

[Article by Yoan Mateev: "Fourth of July--U.S. National Holiday"]

[Text] The 4 July is a noteworthy date for the U.S. people. On this day in 1776, representatives of the fighters for freedom from several British colonial territories in the northern part of the American continent resolutely and enthusiastically adopted and proclaimed the Declaration of Independence. This important political act heralded the emergence of a new independent state--the United States--while 4 July has been celebrated by the U.S. people as national holiday ever since.

The United States is just entering into the third century of its existence. During this short historical period of independent existence, however, the country has travelled through many changes and contradictions. Thus, thanks to their activity, persistence and diligence--so characteristic of the U.S. working people--combined with the natural resources, great material and cultural values have been created in the country. At the same time, here, in the most developed capitalist country, it was logical for the bourgeois social system to demonstrate most distinctly its characteristic traits and its inevitable consequences. The first hallmark of this complicated U.S. development was set in the 1776 Declaration of Independence itself. At this time, this declaration was a truly progressive and revolutionary development, an act which in its spirit and meaning proclaimed noble, humane aspirations and ideas--equality, freedom and happiness. Even then its weakness, however, was its inconsistency--this document did not protect the rights of almost half the people--the women, blacks and the native U.S. population, the Indians. In the society of private initiative, however, the declaration remained as a noble appeal while its practical implementation clashed in an unequal confrontation with the laws of capitalism. This deeply affected the internal life of the United States as well as the country's foreign political behavior.

This is why the prestige of the United States remains in the example and creative work of such citizens as Jefferson and Lincoln, twin and Gershwin,



Edison and Bell. It also remains in the blood shed in the Chicago streets, in the struggle for equality and social progress and in the memory of those who fell in the struggle against Nazism and militarism during the World War II. This prestige is closely connected with the manifestations of realism and foresight in favor of peace and security--in response to the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union and the socialist community for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the international arena.

The Bulgarian people respect the people of the United States. In conformity with its consistent policy directed toward peace, understanding and fruitful cooperation with all countries, the Bulgarian People's Republic has many times expressed its readiness to fully contribute to utilizing the abundant possibilities for developing equal and mutually advantageous relations with the United States based on mutual respect and observance of sovereignty and the interests [of both sides]. Statements have been made on the Bulgarian side that such favorable preconditions exist in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres. Evidence of the existence of these prospects is the present success of the "Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria" Exhibition, organized in New York.

Today's U.S. people's holiday is a pleasant occasion for the Bulgarian public to express, along with its greetings, also wishes for further development of the fruitful ties between the peoples of our two countries in the name of peace and cooperation in the world.

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### 'RABOTNICHESKO DELO' CRITICIZES DECISION ON 'CRUISE' DEVELOPMENT

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 77 p 6 AU

[Article by Nencho Khranov: "The Trump Called 'Cruise'--the U.S. Program on Winged Missiles Opens a New Stage in Nuclear Rearmament"]

[Text] One of U.S. President Jimmy Carter's press conferences made the world press pay particular attention to the Pentagon's plans for a new stage in the nuclear arms race. On the one hand, the master of the White House, with pronounced self-assurance, announced his decision not to introduce into the arsenal the controversial strategic B-1 bombers, while on the other hand, with less solemnity, it was announced that the winged "cruise" missiles--the most up-to-date variety of strategic weapon--would be developed and introduced on a large scale, not only in the U.S., but also in the whole NATO arsenal.

The rightwing Western press simulated surprise as a first reaction. There were even critical remarks on the part of the Washington "hawks." Gradually, however, the smoke cleared and things assumed their real proportions.... It turned out that the decision about B-1 is not only not final, but even quite ambiguous. It is aimed at confirming the President's generous promises concerning not going ahead with production of the B-1 bomber but, at the same time, it not only does not stop research work on this dangerous weapon but even encourages tests. (The House of Representatives, as a matter of fact, granted the not very modest sum of \$1.4 billion to finance these tests).

It is no coincidence, however, that along with the noisy advertising of the B-1 statement a very significant decision was announced on the introduction of winged missiles known as Cruise into the arsenal. This name has been quite well known to the reader since Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's unfortunate trip to Moscow, when he tried to revise the Vladivostok Agreement on the contents of the so much awaited SALT talks. At that time, precisely, the public became aware that Washington is trying to exclude the Cruise missiles from the framework of SALT and thus to obtain one-sided advantages. The U.S. diplomacy was given a clear and categorical reply, that the SALT-II agreement can be based only upon equal security, as well on all those things agreed upon with the present U.S. President's predecessors. Now, comes Washington's decision the Cruise missile, a decision which certain American

observers term some kind of decisive trump in the Soviet-American negotiations. With this trump the partners would allegedly be forced to make compromises. It is superfluous for us to prove what an unsuitable means political poker is in contemporary international relations. The entire development of Soviet-American relations since World War II shows that neither blackmail nor pressure have ever been able to produce any success for the politicians across the ocean. The important thing in this case is that the decision about winged missiles comes at a moment when the SALT II negotiations are in a very important phase and when the term of the temporary agreement is about to expire--in less than 3 months.

In addition to this, the introduction of winged missiles is only one stage in the nuclear madness that has seized the Pentagon. It is part of the tremendous rearmament program that includes new nuclear warheads of high precision called MK-12 A and the new ballistic missiles for the Trident submarines, which were envisaged for the forthcoming record U.S. military budget amounting to \$118 million. The monopolies of the military-industrial complex and all those politicians who follow Senator Henry Jackson's credo are directly interested in this huge expenditure.

The arguments with which certain Western mass media try to explain the President's decision on the B-1 bomber are also quite significant. "Diplomats stress that the development of the Cruise Missile has made the bombers obsolete," Reuter announced. As a result, there is no question of an act of good will, as certain people are trying to explain the President's decisions on the B-1, but a question of preference. And this without taking into consideration the fact that the introduction of Cruise missiles in the arsenal of Western Europe will increase the explosive character of this area, which is already saturated with dangerous weapons.

Now that everything has been said, it is worth stressing the following two facts:

In the first place, there is the significance of winged missiles in the United States' plans for obtaining military advantages. It has been unequivocally stated in Moscow that the Soviet Union has every opportunity of possessing winged missiles in the necessary quantity. However, should a new--a fourth avenue of the nuclear race be opened (after the IBM, after the submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers) is this not an impetus toward the escalation of a deadly competition, which creates a new danger for mankind.

On the other hand, are the ruling circles in the United States justified in forgetting that all attempts in the last 30 years to achieve strategic superiority over the USSR along the path of the arms race have irrevocably failed? Everything positive, however, that has been achieved in Soviet-American relations and on the international scene, as a whole, was based on one realistic evaluation: In view of the existing equality of strategic forces, when the two sides possess weapons capable of destroying all living things on earth many times over, neither the creation of new kinds of weapons, nor an increase in their destructive power can produce any essential military or political advantage.

This truth, which is acknowledged in various ways by influential Western statesmen, is still fully valid today. As Comrade Leonid Brezhnev warned recently, "If this diabolic race is not stopped we will again be on the brink of the unforeseeable, as in the years of Cold War." This, however, should not be allowed to occur.

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

CARTER GETS GREETING--State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram to U.S. President Jimmy Carter on the occasion of the national holiday of the United States. On behalf of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic and on his own behalf, personally,

Comrade Todor Zhivkov sent sincere greetings and cordial wishes for the prosperity of the American people. Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the National Assembly, has sent a telegram to Thomas O'Neill, chairman of the House of Representatives at the U.S. Congress, on the same occasion. The telegram expresses a belief that the cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries will serve peace, security and progress in the world. [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Jul 77 p 1 AU]

LEADERS SEND GREETING--Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent a telegram to Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, president of the Republic of Iraq and secretary general of the Iraqi Socialist B'ath Party regional leadership, on the occasion of the national holiday of the country. The telegram expresses the belief that the friendly relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries will continue to develop and strengthen for the well-being of the two peoples and in the interest of the common struggle against imperialism, aggression and racism as well as for peace and social progress in the world. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent a telegram on the same occasion to Saddam Husayn al-Tikriti, vice chairman of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 13 Jul 77 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PEOPLE BECOME 'WORKERS' TO GET CHILDREN INTO COLLEGE

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 26, 29 Jun 77 p 7

[Letter to the editor entitled "Wheeler-Dealers" and signed Emilie Dvorakova, Ostrava]

[Text] The other day I had to take a taxi and during the ride I got hold of an interesting piece of information. The driver told me that both his wife and he are college graduates. However, he said, as this would prevent their children from being permitted to study he had decided to change his status and, as a taxi driver--a worker--he succeeded in getting his children accepted to institutes of higher learning. One of his sons is now studying nuclear physics in Bratislava, the other is apparently a student at a military secondary school. In other words, both of them are in schools which are quite particular as regards the cadre profile and dependability of their students.

I do not know how true his story really was. However, it is certain that quite a number of our citizens are engaging in such practices. Some, for example, will become involved in a public activity project and, as soon as they get their children accepted in school, they resign their functions. I would like to ask one thing: How is this class-origin question being handled? Was it enough in this man's case to write "employed as taxi driver," and that made everything all right? No one showed any further interest in his real social and class origin nor--and this to me is of decisive importance--in the attitude of this family toward our social system? The latter, as I could gather from the way the man was speaking, is far from friendly. I doubt that he hides his views from his children if he did not hide them from me, a stranger. It makes a person shudder to reflect that his children, brought up in this attitude, will go through the entire period of their studies hiding their real feelings, that they will finish their studies and then, upon becoming adults, they will perhaps get hold of important jobs somewhere, perhaps be even offered candidacy in the CPCZ. Such double-faced careerists then may be in a position to influence the fate of our children whom we have been teaching since babyhood that they should go through life behaving in an honorable and above-board way, and appreciate all the achievements of socialism. I am an office worker and because of that, even though I am also a CPCZ member and functionary, my children will not be able to claim "worker background." The same is true about thousands of other

children who come from communist and genuinely politically involved non-worker families. Yet I could never stoop to such wheeling-dealing. Our society should not make it possible for those who "know the ropes" to get ahead and get a better deal than the honest ones. And I think that it is in our power to make sure that it does not happen.

CSO: 2400

## EAST GERMANY

### JUNE 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jun 77 p 4

[Bernd Grabowski review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 6, June 77, signed to press 11 May 77, pp 641-768: "New Lenin Document in Full Text." Translations and/or summaries of some of the commentaries and articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Lenin said in 1920, in commemoration of his comrade-in-arms Ya. M. Sverdlov who had died the year before, that during the daily work for socialism "the tens and hundreds of thousands of builders of Soviet power must keep in mind the history of the outstanding revolutionaries and leaders of the revolution, their personal experiences and the memory of how the organizational talents have blazed their trail." At the same time, merely a brief press report was published on this speech, a speech that drew up the balance sheet of the first few years after the October Revolution. Now the Soviet periodical KOMMUNIST has published for the first time the full text of the speech based on a preserved shorthand transcript. EINHEIT in its June issue publishes this hitherto unknown document for the first time in the German language.

Four contributions to the column "The Topic" deal with questions of effectiveness and quality, their planning and the sources for increasing them.

A biographical essay written by Alexander Abusch on the occasion of Clara Zetkin's 120 birthday focuses on this great internationalist's close ties with the Russian workers movement, her attitude toward the October Revolution and the Soviet power. Other contributions are devoted to the role of sports in our lives (Guenter Erbach/Rudi Hellmann); to the ideological education work of the PZPR (Wieslaw Klimczak); and to various manifestations of crisis in the capitalist world.

The commentaries at the beginning of the issue recall the 1976 Berlin [European CP] conference (Paul Markowski); unmask the hypocrisy of bourgeois ideologists (Juergen Kuczynski); evaluate the first results of the "FDJ initiative for Berlin" (Dieter Mueller); and appreciate the activity of the Society for Sport and Technology [GST] (Werner Eltze).



## EAST GERMANY

### ONE YEAR SINCE EUROPEAN CP CONFERENCE REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 6, Jun 77 signed to press 11 May 77  
pp 643-646

[Commentary by Paul Markowski, political science graduate; member, department chief, SED Central Committee: "One Year After the Berlin Conference"]

The communist and workers parties assume a greater role and responsibility in the political struggles of our times day after day. This is a consequence of the development of the revolutionary processes in the world, which are increasing in breadth, depth and variety.

On all continents the broad masses are very busy working for their vital interests, permanent peace, national and social self-determination, democracy and socialism. For six decades the historical initiative has irrevocably belonged to socialism and the peoples' aspiration for freedom. Dangers are still threatening, however, from the last yet strongest exploiter system of human history, imperialism.

The political and social struggles on the European continent are of crucial importance to the struggle of all anti-imperialist movements in our epoch. Here is where socialism is displaying all its potentials and advantages. Here the revolutionary workers movement, in the capitalist countries, has experienced and influential communist parties. Here massive power potentials of the two strongest military coalitions are facing each other. Here are found the only other bastions -- apart from the United States and Japan -- of highly developed capitalism. And here precisely the socialist peace strategy has succeeded superbly in making peaceful coexistence the determinant in the relations between states with differing social and political systems. The Helsinki Conference had given expression to the turning from confrontation to detente.

With their Berlin Conference of June last year, the communist and workers parties of Europe had addressed themselves to the most urgent concern of the present situation: to consider and discuss what the next tasks should be in firmly establishing peace, security and beneficial cooperation and for lending new impulses to the struggle for political and social progress in the capitalist countries. Several factors have contributed to the success of the Berlin Conference:

(1) The conference was attended by 29 communist parties. That made it the most representative forum of the communist movement ever to have convened on the European continent. It made possible bringing to this conference the entire store of experience amassed by the most progressive movement on our continent: all the rich insights gathered throughout socialist and communist construction and in the foreign policy struggle by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries fraternally allied with it as well as during the class struggles within the bastions of capitalism.

(2) The Berlin Conference was thoroughly, extensively and democratically prepared. Through comradely and constructive discussions over 2 years a joint platform was worked out that organically connected each party's national tasks with its international responsibility.

(3) The document, "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe," was unanimously adopted by the 29 fraternal parties. This Marxist-Leninist document contains a cogent assessment of the new situation in the mid-'70's in Europe and the world. Accurately formulated here were the goals of the common struggle in deepening detente, in stable peace, security and social progress. In this document the fraternal parties reiterated their firm resolve to work together in the implementation of these goals in internationalist solidarity and in the spirit of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to deepen their relations with one another.

(4) The Berlin Conference demonstrated that the communist and workers parties of Europe see themselves as part of the international communist movement and of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces all over the world. For that reason the document refers to the problems of the liberation struggle in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the burning issues affecting the communists and democrats in all parts of the world.

(5) The Berlin Conference document is an earnest appeal to all progressive, peace-loving and democratic forces on our continent for forming a broad coalition for peace, disarmament and international security.

The Berlin Conference caused a broad and positive response in the parties participating and far beyond. It has reinforced the communists' confidence in victory and frustrated the speculations in the bourgeois camp on how to weaken this great strength. The Berlin Conference fully conformed to the stage we have reached. Its document is a reliable guide for the new phase in the struggle for peace and progress.

The value of a conference and its resolutions is mainly gaged against the conclusions the participants derive from them for their own action. The 12 months of political and social struggle on the European continent have demonstrated that the orientation provided by the document fully conforms to the interests of the communist parties and the working people.

The Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community are engaged in a new foreign policy offensive for safeguarding the peace. The disarmament platform proposed by the Soviet government to the 31st UN General Assembly session, the new initiative of the November meeting of the Warsaw Pact for banning the danger of nuclear war, the socialist countries' proposals to the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and many other political-diplomatic measures proceed from the realization formulated in Berlin to the effect that it was necessary "to consolidate and deepen detente and to take concrete disarmament measures," that the "practical implementation of measures toward military detente" was needed. At the same time the socialist states took many new steps for further developing the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations with the capitalist countries. They are doing what they can to have reason and good will prevail and for the Helsinki Final Act to be brought to realization in its entirety.

Irrespective of all slanderous claims by vicious propaganda, the socialist countries are thus confirming by their deeds that they are playing "an outstanding role in preventing another world war, consolidating international security and carrying on the process of detente" and that they are "exercising increasingly more influence on international relations."

The Berlin Conference participants confirmed "the firm resolve of their parties to continue the rigorous struggle for attaining the goals of peace, democracy and social progress as they conform to the general interests of the workers class, the democratic forces and the broad masses in all countries." This declaration of intent was followed by great efforts on the part of the communist parties in the capitalist part of Europe too for developing new mass initiatives for disarmament, peaceful coexistence and detente. In Bologna, Enrico Berlinguer demanded that Italy "would have to participate more actively in consolidating and moving ahead the cause of disarmament, detente and cooperation " (L'UNITA, 18 April 1977). Other social forces also made successful appearances for contributing together with all those who are ready for peace and disarmament to the solution of the most burning problem of our times. The world movement of peace forces, the Brussels forum, the international federation of resistance fighters, the large international democratic organizations of the workers, women, youth and students have picked up the suggestions of the communist parties and involved the broadest circles in their activities.

The leading representatives of many fraternal parties pointed out at the Berlin Conference the organic connection between peace and detente efforts, on the one side, and the struggle for democracy and social progress, on the other. The conference stated in its document that the communist parties considered the struggle for detente an important contribution to creating the kind of international conditions that would favor social progress. The actions taken in the struggle by the workers class, farmers, students and many other working people against the disastrous effects of the capitalist crisis are also aimed against those forces from which there are constantly coming new attempts at enforcing the arms race and violations of detente and of mutually advantageous cooperation in international relations: the most reactionary circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie, internationally interlocked monopoly capital, high finance and its political spokesmen.

Fully confirmed has been the statement of the Berlin Conference that the struggle for the strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence as set down in the Final Act of Helsinki had become an immediate component of the struggle for defending and extending the social and political rights of the working people in the capitalist countries. The anti-Soviet hysteria released by the reactionary forces, the attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and the broadly faceted campaign on revising accords already made in matters of arms limitation aim not only against detente as such but in particular also against the peoples' immediate and vital interests in the capitalist countries. They are going together with the effort at newly organizing extremely nationalistic and neofascist forces and movements. One may only recall in this connection the fascist excesses in Italy and Portugal, the hesitancy in granting democratic rights to the Spanish Left and the sharpening of the ban on practicing one's trade in the FRG and its revanchism.

The intensified appearance of reactionary trends in some capitalist countries evidently is a direct expression of the sharpening political struggle. The attempts by big capital of reversing the detente tendencies in international relations and of once again heating up the political situation on the European continent are indicating that those forces think the advances of the workers movement in the struggle against monopoly capital, and especially the growing influence of some communist and workers parties and the radiating strength of the ideas of socialism, have gone too far. Contravening the obligations they assumed in Helsinki, they are organizing a veritable defamation campaign against real socialism and the communist parties in the capitalist countries. The intention is -- as the Berlin document states -- "to discredit communist policy and ideals among the broad masses and frustrate the unity of the workers movement and the cooperation between the democratic and popular forces." At the same time one means to drive a wedge between the communist and workers parties in the socialist and capitalist countries.

Reactionary bourgeois politicians and mass media all the more willingly succumb to anticommunism and antisocialist agitation because the permanent crisis in the capitalist countries, mass unemployment, social decline and the manifestations of a deteriorating bourgeois morality and way of life make them more afraid than ever of any honest comparison with the great economic, social and cultural-moral achievements of real socialism. The all too transparent campaign on matters of human rights is becoming a boomerang for its originators. Freedom and human dignity start with the liberation from capitalist exploitation, with social security and the possibility for developing the human personality. That, as life confirms, is possible only in socialism.

It also is becoming ever more evident today that strong impulses have come from the Berlin Conference for developing still more active cooperation among the fraternal parties. The attempts by bourgeois politicians, aided by a conspicuously noisy accompaniment from the mass media, to "regionalize" the communist movement and thereby arbitrarily to reduce the map of Europe, are meeting with failure. Precisely the frank and comradely exchange of views and the joint conclusions drawn in the document clearly reveal that the

communists remain open-minded to the new issues in the revolutionary struggle and wield the weapon of proletarian internationalism in the spirit of the doctrine from Marx, Engels and Lenin. Anticomunist propaganda is eagerly trying to fabricate contradictions between the principles of the parties' independence and their fraternal alliance where actually there are no contradictions. And that makes the answer so important which the 29 communist parties have given to these questions. There is not only no contradiction but there rather is a close internal connection between every party's equality and independence, between noninterference in internal affairs and respect for party policy on the one side, and internationalist cooperation and solidarity, on the other. The center of international solidarity, profoundly anti-imperialist in substance, is occupied by the international workers class. It is the class which in our epoch shapes the transition from capitalism to socialism. That internationalism today is being enriched by new aspects is the result of involving new social forces and strata in the revolutionary, democratic struggle for peace.

The growing internationalization of all political life and the stronger action coordination within the bourgeoisie and its political parties at an international scale also induce the communist and workers parties to reach a better understanding still of the goals and operations in their common struggle. The new class struggle problems call for comradely discussions. The fraternal alliance with the CPSU, which guides the destiny of the chief revolutionary force in our epoch and of the strongest peace power in the world, is an elemental issue of struggle for every communist and workers party. Furthermore, experience teaches us every day anew that isolation from the fraternal parties and the working people in other countries is most detrimental to the struggle in one's own country. That applies in particular to the relationship with the countries of real socialism. And that is why, particularly in view of the increasing diversity in the political struggles in the various countries, with the simultaneous polarization between the forces of reaction and progress on a world scale, the communist parties in Berlin came up with the following striking observation: The "struggle for socialism in one's own country and each party's responsibility to its own workers class and its own people combine with the mutual solidarity of the working people in all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in the struggle for freedom and the consolidation of independence, democracy, socialism and world peace."

It has been one year since the party leaders of 29 fraternal parties of Europe met. It was a timely appeal the conference addressed to all communists, to the peoples of Europe. It has had a great mobilizing effect because it is telling the peoples the truth about what has been achieved and about the dangers, poses the right goals and indicates how they can be realized, and because the communists, setting examples, are moving ahead, out in front.

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## EAST GERMANY

### PREMILITARY TRAINING VIEWED AS MAIN TASK OF SPORT SOCIETY

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pp 651-655

[Commentary by Col Werner Eltze, military science graduate, political researcher in SED Central Committee: "Our Socialist Military Defense Organization"]

[Text] The successful advance of the Soviet Union over six decades and the experiences of the other countries of the socialist community of states, not last those of the GDR people among them, have shown that the armed protection of the socialist fatherland is and remains an objective need as long as imperialism exists and does not abandon its attempts at preventing the victorious march of socialism by means of military force and at eliminating the socialist achievements.

Mindful of the lessons of the international and the German workers movement, our party has always given proper attention to the reliable protection of our achievements and to the promotion of defense preparedness among the working people. The Society for Sport and Technology (GST), 25 years old on 7 August, plays an important part in this as a socialist defense organization. Under SED leadership, it fosters the working people's willingness to defend the socialist fatherland and to protect the achievements of socialism, allied in inseparable comradeship-in-arms with the armed forces of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community of states. As a school that prepares youth for its military service, it finds its main task in preparing premilitary youth in such a way that it will recognize the honorable service in the armed forces as a class task and acquire the qualifications it calls for. By promoting the working people's defense readiness and by passing on knowledge, skills and facilities for the benefit of secure military protection of socialism, and especially by preparing young males for military service and by organizing defense sports, the GST has gained great distinctions.

This becomes most visible in the main thrust of its activities, the direct preparation of youth for military service. More than 90 percent of the young citizens subject to the draft is equipped by the GST with knowledge in defense policy and with general premilitary and specialized military

knowledge. Thereby they are getting fine qualifications for rapidly adjusting to the military collectives and, developing further the knowledge acquired, becoming well trained soldiers. One of the reasons why the NVA of the GDR could become a modern socialist army over a short span, historically speaking, was that the young men entering military service had been well prepared for it by the FDJ and the GST.

At its Sixth Congress, to be held in Karl-Marx-Stadt from 17 to 19 June 1977, the GST will give an accounting on how it has fulfilled the decisions taken at its Fifth Congress, which were derived from the Eighth SED Congress. Guided by the measures of the Ninth SED Congress, the further tasks will there be discussed that pertain to it in the further shaping of the developed socialist society together with the creation of fundamental pre-conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

The Ninth SED Congress decisions also provide a goal and substance for the further work of the GST. Of fundamental importance here is the statement of the Ninth Party Congress that under the conditions of worldwide confrontation between capitalism and socialism, and of the sharpening of the ideological struggle, the demands also are growing for giving all round preparation to army personnel, demands made mainly on their class consciousness, their political-moral and psychological hardening, but also on their military and military technical knowledge and abilities.<sup>1</sup>

What are right now the main tasks of the GST? What will become of it as the socialist defense organization of the GDR it is?

First there is the further shaping of the basic political attitude in the defense of socialism, the development of socialist defense motivation. That is conditioned by our love for the GDR, our socialist fatherland, the firm friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states and the hatred against the imperialist forces that are threatening our peace and security.

Soldiers in a socialist army are distinguished not only by their skill in hitting their marks, in operating a radio, driving a motor vehicle or speedily capturing a post. Soldiers in an imperialist army, equally well trained, can do that too. Soldiers in a socialist army differ from those in imperialist armed forces mainly in espousing a just cause, socialism, the well-being of the working people, peace and its military protection, and in knowing what they have to defend and what they are fighting for. The socialist soldier is the better type of soldier because he understands why he has to be a soldier and identifies totally and completely with his military class task. It is this knowledge about the "what for" and the "against what" with its defense motivation on which the great defense readiness and capability in socialism are based.

To foster this is the special business of the GST. Through its political-ideological work it helps raise the young people in its premilitary training in terms of revolutionary vigilance, so that they know who are their enemies

and who, their friends. Right now, in preparing for the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, it is making an important contribution to having the young people understand the importance of this significant event of the 20th century, in having them recognize that the friendship with the Soviet Union is and remains the sure basis for our advances in socialist construction and that the experiences gathered by the CPSU and the Soviet state are of fundamental importance to the construction and protection of socialism.

An extremely valuable element in its work in the communist education of youth is its cultivation of, and instruction in, the revolutionary defense and military traditions of the German people and of the German and international workers class. Familiarity with the military-political and military experiences from the struggle of the revolutionary German and international workers movement and an appropriation of the modes of thought and action typical of our revolutionary models can awaken and deepen particularly those political views, convictions and attitudes that tie in most directly with the power of the workers class. They help the individual become clear about the meaning of being a soldier and prove himself as a socialist soldier personality during his military service.

The movement organized by the GST for winning honorific names of revolutionary models -- excursions to memorial and traditional sites, star meetings at historic sites and so forth -- reinforces the education in socialist awareness and the readiness militarily to protect socialism from any enemy assaults. That makes the girls and boys become better acquainted with the heroic fighters for the cause of the workers class and the high moral sense of those fighting against fascism. That informs their own revolutionary actions today and helps deepen socialist patriotism in its unity with proletarian internationalism and such features as loyalty to the party objectives, the workers class and the working people.

These basic positions on the protection of socialism must be combined with practical action, with individual qualifications. Premilitary training and defense sports provide the requisite knowledge and skills. Here the main thing is to prepare all future soldiers for their general tasks and duties in the armed forces. That is necessary because the young men will then be confronted with many novel and strange problems: subordinating oneself, absolute obedience to orders, living up to the military regimen, constantly living within a large collective, enduring high physical demands and so forth. That they are not yet accustomed to. It is of great help to them systematically to be led up to these demands. And furthermore, getting general premilitary experience, especially in firing weapons, is of great benefit for serving in the NVA.

Second, there is this matter of getting specialized premilitary and technical training for NVA careers as motorized infantryman, military motor vehicle driver, radio operator, pilot, sailor, paratrooper and so forth. Increasing importance attaches to the forming of a skilled specialists cadre in view of the high and growing degree of technology and specialization in the armed forces.



These are distinct reasons making it necessary to attach great attention to, and make more effective, premilitary training and education -- mainly in terms of quality. The effects the scientific-technical revolution has on military affairs, shown, among other things, in the introduction of modern types of weapons, supersonic aircraft, complicated air defense systems, new tanks, armored personnel vehicles and artillery systems in the NVA, which affect the nature and methods of combat operations, make it necessary for the future soldiers to be extensively prepared, in the political, premilitary and physical sense in accordance with these conditions and requirements.

This GST work, increasingly oriented along the lines of NVA service requirements, becomes more efficient when one draws on the experiences of the NVA reservists, especially those who worked as training officers or specialists, using them within the basic organizations and training units of the GST and also in defense sports. Using their knowledge and experiences is an important connecting link for bringing GST work up to the level of the new requirements. With it, additional possibilities are tapped for keeping the defense capability of the reservist in shape.

As in all other domains of our society, so also in the GST the central problem is better quality and efficiency. To the extent that the GST functionaries and training officers, with support from the executives of the party organizations and the state executives, learn to make efficient use of the hours available for training and make them interesting for the participants, make high demands and work for conscious discipline, more and more benefit can be derived for service with the NVA and the GDR border troops. Everyone must make higher demands on himself and on his own work in order to make a worthy contribution to the solution of the tasks posed by the party.

Where is the yardstick for this activity? One must apply the criteria of the Ninth Party Congress to find out with how much preparation in the political-ideological, the premilitary, the technical and physical sense the young males enter their military service and to what extent and in what manner these new soldiers are prepared for their military duties. This also includes recruiting the required number of extended-term NCO's and of career officer and NCO applicants, through cooperation with the organs of public education, vocational training and the socialist youth association, and preparing them systematically for their military service.

The Sixth GST Congress will also deal with how the physical capability of youths can be improved in the interest of national defense. It is an important realization that service with the NVA, the GDR border troops, the other armed forces of the GDR and the leadership organs and operational forces of civil defense more than ever requires healthy people with great physical capability. The essential foundations for that must be laid in the premilitary age. With its premilitary training and defense sports the GST is making an important contribution to physically hardening young people. Military physical training within premilitary training as much as all the physical stress during premilitary training, especially in cross-country exercises, advances the development of conditioning capabilities that are especially necessary for national

defense, such as strength, endurance, speed, dexterity and athletic skills as well as valuable character features like bravery, the will to win, steadfastness and so forth.

The implementation of the military class task the Ninth SED Congress has assigned to the NVA calls for further improvement in the physical capabilities of all young people reflecting their willingness to do good work for socialism and to study and to be ready for its defense. By involving always more young people in interesting and diversified defense sports activities, by smoothly flowing premilitary training throughout the entire training year, by all-year exercise, training and competition activities in the various defense sports and by putting into effect the new sports medal program, "Ready for Work and for the Defense of the Homeland," the GST can support this important social concern still more efficiently in the future.

It is of great benefit that, in educating its members in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and in their comradeship-in-arms, the GST can rely on the valuable experiences made by the sister organizations in the socialist countries, especially those of the DOSAAF (Volunteer Organization for Promoting the Ground, Air and Naval Forces; the Soviet sister organization of GST). The friendship and close cooperation especially with DOSAAF, which is based on the irrevocable battle alliance between the CPSU and the SED and on the unity of their aims and operations, and which becomes visible in friendship meetings, joint contests, camps of the defense-prepared youth in the socialist countries and so forth, make more and more possible for the young people to get their own idea and get involved in the rapprochement among our peoples and nations themselves. Personal meetings with DOSAAF members at political events, defense sport contests and competitions strengthen the friendship and solidarity with DOSAAF among GST members and spur them on toward excellent performance in premilitary training and defense sports.

Taking its clues from the work of DOSAAF is a matter of fundamental importance for the GST because it is the most experienced, strongest and best developed defense organization of the socialist states and embodies a great store of experiences in the strengthening of the defense capability of the first socialist state in the world, and mainly in preparing the youth for the responsible service in the Soviet armed forces. Learning from DOSAAF how defense readiness is instilled in youth, through the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, how it is physically toughened and brought up with boldness, courage, tenacity, love for the socialist fatherland and hatred against any enemies of the workers and farmers power, and how premilitary and specialized technical knowledge is imparted, all this makes possible our fulfilling with fine results the targets set for all areas of our training programs.

When the GST draws up its balance sheet at its Sixth Congress and reviews its development thus far, the results achieved in premilitary training and youth training, under the leadership by the working class party and in close alliance with the socialist youth association, will become especially clear.

Whereas in its early years, GST work mainly amounted to familiarizing youths and adults with elementary athletic and technical skills, the work today more and more amounts to general premilitary training and training for NVA careers, so as to be of immediate benefit to armed defense, a school for the soldiers of tomorrow.

Ninth Party Congress criteria, the greater demands made on premilitary education and training, determine the further development of GST. Much depends on how well the leading party organs, the party executives in the enterprises, schools and facilities, and also the state organs, support the social task GST has and grant political-ideological, organizational, material and personal help to its functionaries.

The results that have become apparent in the contest "GST Congress Relay Ninth Party Congress" and in the election movement in preparation of the Sixth GST Congress indicate the members and functionaries of the socialist defense organization of the GDR are making every effort in consistently further developing their organization so that they will help implement the tasks and targets the Ninth SED Congress has assigned.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 119.

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## EAST GERMANY

### YOUNG WORKERS TO ACQUIRE SKILLS, GENERAL EDUCATION, IDEOLOGY

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pp 685-692

[Article by Wolf-Dietrich Keim and Peter Neubert, social science graduates, political researchers in SED Central Committee: "For a High Level of Training for Next Generation of Skilled Workers"]

[Text] Vocational training significantly helps enrich the creative capacities of the workers class. What has been done to train a new generation of specialists equipped with solid technical knowledge and assuming a firm class point of view and flexible enough to be put to use in accordance with social requirements? What tasks -- toward extending what has been achieved -- arise from production intensification and from science and technology development for the vocational training and communist education of the apprentices?

How crude indeed becomes the contrast between the social systems as soon as one brings to mind, particularly, the solution offered for crucial vital problems. Millions of young people in the capitalist countries are refused their right to vocational training; they are condemned to unemployment. In our country, every young person learns a trade; the right to work is guaranteed to him. That remains a sure thing for all girls and boys in the GDR, even though the number of apprentices is rising, especially for the years up to 1981. In the resolution titled "For High-level Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions in the Field of Vocational Training,"<sup>1</sup> the SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR Council of Ministers, the FDGB Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council have staked out the tasks resulting for this field from the Ninth Party Congress objective of continuing the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. This resolution is of an importance of principle to the further development of vocational training and communist education of our new generation of specialists.

Vocational training for more than a million young technicians up to 1980 significantly helps enrich the creative capacities of the workers class and raise its level of performance. Of the 222,600 apprentices who started their training in 1976, for example, 80 percent has graduated from 10th grade. Solid vocational training and communist education of the young people make an important contribution to further stable economic growth, continuing the political course of the main task over the next few years. The Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress and the Party Program proceed from the assumption that the development of science and technology will place high demands on education and training, and thus also on perfecting further our vocational training, it being a component of our unified socialist system of education. This is a long-range and dynamic process that must be mastered especially by improving the quality of technical, political and pedagogic work in the vocational training facilities. The task is to insure a high quality of training for every young person in all occupations on the basis of revised teaching plans to be introduced this year or next year. The time made available by society is to be used intensively for learning and working so that all apprentices when they reach the end of their apprenticeship have risen to the performance level of specialists.

#### To Focus Vocational Training on Intensification

Vocational training connects directly with our intensification, the main avenue in our economic growth. High-level training and education for our technicians is an essential prerequisite for continued scientific-technical progress and for improving the quality of labor and the dynamic growth of performance. Personal commitment and a conscious contest for fine performance in the shaping of the developed socialist society are decisive conditions for greater efficiency and more high-grade work. For that reason vocational training is constantly being further developed in conformity with these overall social requirements.

#### Revised teaching plans offer new possibilities

A decisive contribution to improving the level of vocational training has been made through revising the teaching plans for all skilled occupations or through making them more precise. Changes have been made in the texts of training documents in order better to prepare the future technicians, manage our intensification, solve all production and labor tasks by use of science and technology data and live up to the higher requirements placed on communist education. Starting on 1 September 1977, as many as 224 skilled occupations with 609 specialization facilities will become mandatory for 10th grade graduates of the general education polytechnical secondary school. Preparations are being made so that, starting on 1 September 1978, technical training will become possible for 66 occupations for persons quitting the secondary school prematurely, on the 8th grade level. Vocational training will in the future continue in offering more general education too, either directly or connected with vocational training.

Characteristically, the teaching plans assure a stronger Marxist-Leninist indoctrination throughout the technical training materials and, substantively, aim at solid basic education, broad occupational flexibility and the attainment of a steady specialist's performance level when the training terminates. New possibilities arise for closely combining vocational training with social, occupational and industrial practice. All the possibilities are explained and underscored that prepare the apprentices for active participation in the intensification process concretely, through their subject matter or through the labor activity they are being trained for. Greater possibilities are also being provided for instructing in knowledge, abilities and skills that are specific to the branch or enterprise. It improves the bases for connecting training more closely with practice without nurturing tendencies toward "narrow industrial specialization."

In the concrete handling of this, the practical occupational training will allow for a variety of specializations in the future in trades such as specialists in production materials, machine and installations assembly, industrial metal work and others. For these occupations there are teaching plans for vocational training that make it possible to exchange, on an elective basis, certain work areas or courses. For example, the apprentices in machine building may either choose welding skills in three different directions or training in machine tools. Another characteristic of the revised teaching plans is that they focus on that kind of knowledge and skills that are needed for rationally managing the technology, making labor organization more efficient, improving the material economy and using energy economically. Proceeding from the experience that practical vocational training in the production and labor collectives constitutes a crucial sector for developing the personality of the future technician and his capability, almost all training documentation provides for a 2 to 3-month breaking-in period at the future place of work.

It is especially important to prepare the young technicians for successfully coping with, and mastering, the new technology and to familiarize them directly with the results of scientific-technical progress in their particular occupation and enterprise. That presupposes that the apprentices get trained in the new and highly productive technology and get introduced, through their theoretical and practical vocational training, to the most efficient technologies and find out about, and learn to operate, the new installations, equipment and materials. New subject matters and labor procedures have thus been included in the teaching plans, and obsolete matters were deleted, and some were abridged. In addition to arranging information more efficiently, this also provided the possibility for expanding the treatment of the experiences of the innovators and of Soviet labor methods.

Along with doing something here for the training for skilled occupations, we have also further developed the content of basic education in vocational training. Those subjects, in view of the steadily increasing requirements in intensification and scientific-technical progress, remain an indispensable element of socialist vocational training. In substance, the basic technical subjects, in line with the Ninth Party Congress orientation, now focus more strongly on rationalization and automation techniques.

The teaching plans will have an impact in every enterprise and every vocational training facility to the extent that conditions are created for high-grade theoretical and practical training and the vocational teachers, master foremen and labor collectives where the training takes place are prepared for these new requirements. Nothing must be allowed to reduce the high level of training in the interest of communist education and the youths' all round personality development and the flexibility in the use to which they are put. It accords with our socialist and deeply humanistic conception of the position and role of men in socialist society that all public education fields provide a comprehensive education based on Marxist-Leninist theory and the most recent natural science, technical and social science data that far exceeds the knowledge required for any particular job as such.

#### Creating preconditions for a higher grade of training

Fulfilling the teaching plans demands a lot of the knowledge and skill of teaching personnel and of their pedagogic sophistication. It is the job of the managers of the enterprises and of the competent state organs to help them create, with them and for them, all conditions and prerequisites for high-grade pedagogic work.

The teachers and master foremen, as delegates of the workers and farmers state, have a strong hand in shaping the spiritual, political and ethical countenance of youth. Primarily through scientific, party-minded, life-related theoretical and practical instruction, they supply the boys and girls with sound vocational knowledge, skills and facilities which, combined with a fine general education and firm political positions and attitudes, become the preconditions for the development of socialist personalities. Everyday pedagogic work demands of all professional pedagogs a sound Marxist-Leninist knowledge, being informed on political, social and scientific-technical matters, rapid reactions to topical political events as well as firmness in political principles and great sensitivity. Master foremen and vocational teachers need in particular information and practical knowledge about the scientific-technical development of the enterprise and its products and about the application of efficient technologies and working methods in the production. Information like that will enable them better to meet the substantive requirements on our intensification and on scientific-technical progress in their instruction.

Since the joint resolution on vocational training was published, better conditions have been created, through the creative work of many professional pedagogs and various initiatives taken jointly with the apprentices, for meeting the revised teaching plan requirements in the training facilities. Vocational training intensification itself aims at making instruction more effective and at improving the work with the apprentices in order to assure, through full use made of available possibilities and assets, high-grade training and education. With that in mind, teaching cabinets and sectors have been reconstructed in the teaching workshops.

The pedagogics collectives focus in particular on high-level instruction and efficient practical training. A fundamental precondition for that is that the normally provided plan positions for vocational teachers, master foremen and institutionalized upbringing personnel are filled with qualified functionaries. The increasing number of apprentices and the implementation of the sociopolitical measures for pedagogics the party has decreed require that some enterprises employ more people in vocational training. By 1980 we must have, in addition to the planned employment of advanced and technical school graduates, approximately 2,000 able and skilled engineers, master foremen and technicians working as instructors or vocational teachers. Instruction in the vocational schools, training in the apprentice workshops, and the use of apprentices for training in production areas are calling for the normal number of teachers, instructors and educators. The state norming points are a minimum. Enterprise managers are responsible for their being fully observed. Preparing the young generation for these responsible tasks in industry and society calls for a high level of training to be given the apprentices; that cannot be rationalized in terms of relying on a fixed number of teaching and training personnel.

Training to be assured proper as to teaching plans

Increasing importance attaches to the work in apprentice workshops, apprentice building sites, training installations and laboratories because systematic instruction in basic skills and facilities and their constant reinforcement are prerequisite to high performance capability. Based on that consideration, there are already many experiences showing us how conditions for high-grade basic training can further be improved through a targeted modernization of the apprentice workshops with the help of scientific data from professional pedagogics and scientific labor organization.

Exemplary have been the experiences of enterprise vocational training at the Halle/Leipzig state-owned power plant construction enterprise, plant operation Magdeburg. For their basic training the apprentices were assigned the production of switchboard sections for refrigeration cars as their youth project. This production, properly in line with the teaching plan, assures instruction in all the facilities and skills that are essential for working as an electrician. By means of scientific labor organization, a modern production cycle was set up, through their own production of the means of rationalization, that assures efficient practical training in line with the technological conditions of the enterprise apprentice workshop. In parallel with the training on the assembly line, all other abilities and skills are exercised and trained, in metal working cabinets, installation, cable working and plastic processing, for which the assembly line offers no opportunities. In full conformity with the teaching plan, the apprentices are being challenged to perform from the very first day. Even during their first year of apprenticeship the apprentices accomplish up to from 50 to 60 percent of the technicians' norms in the regular industrial tasks.



In order to assure everywhere that kind of quality and efficiency in practical training, one should schedule long-range working tasks in line with the teaching plan that would facilitate the kind of training that will meet the technological requirements and scientific labor organization in the enterprise. It will greatly help in instilling the love for work and in shaping firm working habits. And that is why the joint resolution demands that production proper as to the teaching plans be assured and measures for the reconstruction and modernization of the apprentice workshops be included in the industrial intensification conceptions.

The training in the production departments likewise is based on the teaching plans, and the selection of jobs and of production projects must meet these requirements. Specialization comes only in the final months of training, normally 3 months before the end of the apprenticeship at the job and in the labor collective in which the apprentice will be working as a technician. Thereby one can by and large prevent apprentices from specializing too early and narrowly for a particular job. At times that still occurs, and then there is no assurance for the acquisition of solid knowledge and facilities called for by a technicians' certification. Meeting the specialists' norm is not the sole criterion for the outcome of training.

The more than 100,000 teaching technicians who are appointed, in a dignified manner, by the enterprise managers and the trade union and FDJ executives have a great share in the training during the production phase. Together with the main instructors they assist the apprentices in reaching the performance level of technicians under production conditions. The teaching technicians therefore deserve great attention. By their personal example they carry over directly to the work done by the young people their own experiences of work, struggle and life. Thereby they are fulfilling an honorable task. A higher quality of work with the teaching technicians and sponsors has developed in Leipzig Bezirk, especially through the application of the Soviet experiences of the Antonov airplane factory in Kiev. The party organizations and trade union managements of the enterprises together with the pedagogs are making it their business to select and prepare for it especially suitable class-conscious and experienced technicians and solid labor collectives. The teaching technicians and sponsors are assuming the task to see to it that a young person feels happy in his occupation, works creatively, continues his education and gladly returns to his labor collective after his military service.

In order to reach a high level in the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions in the field of vocational training, it is necessary to enforce rigorously our democratic centralism in the vocational training management and further to consolidate state discipline. The implementation of our uniform state educational policy makes high demands on enterprise managers; for the training is carried out directly in the enterprises and facilities, the 691 enterprise vocational schools, the 276 communal vocational schools, the more than 600 apprentice workshops and training affiliations in industry, agriculture and the crafts. And the enterprise managers bear all the responsibility for it. In order to provide teachers and directors with still more

efficient aid in their meeting the teaching plan requirements at a high level, the resolution calls for decidedly improving the availability of vocational literature and other teaching aids, perfecting the training and advanced training of teachers, educators and executive functionaries, and gradually employing technical advisors throughout instruction. The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan contains specifications for it which have to be realized by observing a high degree of state discipline.

#### Communist Education of the New Working Class Generation

The substance and main thrust of apprentice education are determined by the objective needs for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus, for creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. Ideological conviction, political awareness and, based on them, the socialist attitude toward work and the socialist property, an ever more penetrating recognition of social obligations and a life rich in culture are becoming more and more characteristic marks of behavior on the part of the new working class generation. Sound and solid understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the further deepening of the scientific world-outlook of the workers class are essential foundations for having the apprentices more thoroughly understand the inevitabilities in nature and society, being convinced of the victory of socialism and communism and recognizing the leadership role of the workers class and its party in all further social progress. The greatest influence on this comes from civics instruction, the FDJ study year and instruction in industrial management. They help present the scientific picture of socialism and communism convincingly and explain SED policy to all apprentices in a realistic and vivid manner. The apprentices should be made more familiar with how the economic laws of socialism apply under concrete industrial conditions. An introduction to the new discipline, "socialist law," will give them systematic information on labor, family and civil law and on the youth law and will help strengthen their socialist legal consciousness and conduct. The communist education of the apprentices thus aims at enabling them for an aware and active share in the shaping of life in socialist society.

Of special importance to the development of society and of each individual is a conscious attitude toward work and socialist property. "Working creatively must be learned early. Working for the benefit of all -- that is the most important cause in life," and with reference to the heroes of labor, Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "They all are models for youth. Through their own life they are demonstrating how communist modes of thinking and conduct originate. They originate in the midst of life, in the midst of work, in the struggle for our policy objectives for the good of the people."<sup>2</sup>

Work education, qualifying training, performing what is demanded at a high quality, this must occupy the crucial place in the political-ideological and pedagogic work in vocational training institutions. That applies in particular to the practical training, for which 65 to 70 percent of the training time is made available in every occupation. And this vocational training is not merely some kind of occupation but the fulfillment of those tasks that

enable the apprentices to maintain technicians' performance after they have completed their training. Especially the last months are of special importance in this when the training is placed under concrete production conditions and the direct influence by the labor collectives.

Here especially the apprentices can acquire the experiences that are needed for their future work. This time moreover has a great influence on the apprentices' love for their occupation and loyalty to the enterprise. At the same time they can familiarize themselves here, directly in the production process, with the revolutionary struggle and the labor traditions. All this underscores the great educational importance of the labor collectives. In many ways the apprentices, starting with the appeal for continuing socialist competition by the state-owned Narva, Berlin, are here developing new activities in implementing the "FDJ Assignment Ninth Party Congress," and they are imposing high goals for vocational competition on themselves in preparation of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. The apprentices in the vocational school of the state-owned Leuna Works, for example, committed themselves to higher achievements in learning and working for this occasion and to exceed their apprentice production of M 4.7 million in commodity output by 2 percent. They took on 300 tasks from the science and technology plan and are implementing them with creative zeal. Their joint goal is to save an additional 9,000 working hours. The initiative developed by an apprentice collective on making commitments, after the end of training, to working for a longer period on major emphasis projects in the combine meets with an ever increasing and broader basis because of the active political work of the FDJ executives.

The basic concern of occupational competition as an inseparable component of the working people's socialist competition lies in fostering the apprentices' activities in working and learning and in developing them into highly skilled specialists with a firm class point of view. An interesting and vivid management of occupational competition for the fulfillment of teaching plan targets and for fine results in labor therefore deserves great attention. That will have a lot to do with making the apprentices after they finished their apprenticeship, as young technicians, take part, with initiative and creativity, in the socialist competition in their labor collectives. Experiences of enterprises such as the state-owned Narva, Berlin, or the state-owned housing construction combine in Rostock indicate that occupational competition among the apprentices will improve performance and form awareness when they are given enough information on the plan of the enterprise, the teaching plan and the competition resolution and they get assigned accountable and comparable tasks for meeting their own targets, when, in other words, occupational competition becomes the apprentices' own business. Conveying the best traditions and experiences of socialist competition, as an expression of the socialist way of life, is of great importance here.

Success, furthermore, largely depends on how one succeeds in assigning to the apprentices responsible tasks in their labor and in shaping their own social life. Under direction from the pedagogs and alongside experienced training technicians, the apprentices are taking part in the day by day struggle for

the plan fulfillment and for great scientific-technical achievements and are developing mutual aid and support through socialist competition. In this way they gain social experiences while still in training, which help form ethical characteristics and attitudes typical of the workers class.

Collective education is becoming more important all around. It becomes most effective through firm FDJ collectives. The time of vocational training therefore is most suitable to further developing the solidarity of the boys and girls with their socialist youth association and to strengthening their needs for actively participating in their organization. No vocational training facilities should therefore engage in any actions without having the FDJ make decisive contributions to them. And in this, the coordinated activities of the pedagogs and of the FDJ and trade union executives, under the leadership by the party organizations in the enterprises, are found to be most useful for developing communist positions and attitudes among the apprentices and for fostering their own creative participation in occupational competitions, in the "Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow" movement, and in planning their own training. And thus during the apprenticeship there will develop the loyalty to the workers class, the communist attitude toward work and public property as well as the community spirit and defense preparedness.

Leisure time activities and life in the apprentice dormitories also deserve much attention. After all, one out of every four apprentices lives in a dormitory. Through the FDJ initiative "More Beauty and Culture for Our Dormitories" it is intended to make it possible, by enlisting the help of the FDJ dormitory activists groups and the educators, that all apprentices are comfortable where they live. They too should help in improving the housing conditions, in making leisure time more interesting and in insuring order, safety and discipline.

#### Insuring High-level Vocational Counseling

Among the advantages of socialism is that every young person in the GDR is assured of some vocational training. For more than 10 years, 99 percent of all high school graduates -- girls as well as boys -- who do not attend any technical or advanced school, is prepared for work through vocational training. Especially in more recent years, a long-range vocational orientation provided by the secondary schools and enterprises has induced more and more boys and girls to consider vocational training conforming to the needs of our national economy and permitting a far-reaching conformity with their own personal interests, abilities and inclinations.

Further progress has here been made through the work of our 198 vocational counseling centers. For 4 years there has been, for instance, in Stendal Kreis, managed by the kreis party organization, politically effective vocational counseling work undertaken by the enterprises and secondary schools. Some 93 percent of the boys and girls in this kreis had already, when they started applying for study year 1977, formed such clear occupational preferences that they could at once sign their apprenticeship contracts in the desired

occupation and with the appropriate enterprise. Evidence indicates that during the same time period the number of broken apprenticeship contracts has gone down and an increasing number of apprentices completes the technicians' training with good and ever better results.

The right choice of occupation is extremely important for our further social development. The task is to see to it, while proceeding from the Five-Year Plan targets, that the greater number of workers in the future will be employed in making better use of the available basic assets, especially in heavy machine construction, chemical installations, export mining and subsidiary enterprises and in raw material production. At the same time one must also raise the number of persons employed in construction, transportation, the branches of the supply economy and in the trades and the services. Compared with the 1971-1975 period, up to 1980 the increase in apprentices in industry will come to 18.5 percent, in construction to 20.3 percent, in agriculture to 25 percent, and in the local supply economy and the trades to 26 percent. It becomes particularly clear here to what an extent social progress depends on the qualitative development of the social manpower potential and its proportional distribution. At this point social and personal interest meet head-on, and it becomes an overall social concern to orient the young generation early toward the requirements of social production.

Greater efforts in this direction must mainly be made by the enterprises (not only by the enterprise schools) and all social forces, so that the students and their parents are made familiar with social, territorial and industrial tasks and they receive concrete insights into occupational development and into the health and other performance requirements for the various occupations and, above all, also get individual guidance. Special activities continue to be needed for providing girls with ideas about developmental opportunities in technical occupations and for attracting them to such occupations.

Well organized vocational counseling by the enterprises, high-grade vocational training and a cautious manner of incorporating the apprentices during the last months in their labor collectives, experiences have shown, most evidently reduce fluctuations and are important factors in forming regular working crews.

The joint resolution "For High-level Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions in the Field of Vocational Training" relies on good experiences, results and conditions. Its implementation is releasing new activities and initiatives in all enterprises and vocational schools which aim at forming more class-conscious young technicians who will meet the demands of the present and the future.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 December 1976.
2. Erich Honecker, "Der IX. Parteitag der SED und die Aufgaben der Jugend" (The Ninth SED Congress and the Tasks of Youth), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 17.

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 6, Jun 77 signed to press 11 May 77  
'For Documentation' addendum

Sources for Increasing Work Quality and Effectiveness in Combines and Enterprises

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, deputy director, SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, Council for Economic Management Problems; and Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, department head in the same central institute; pp 662-671]

[Text] Growing social demands call for greatly improving the performance of the economy via socialist intensification. Combines and enterprises occupy a key position in this. Best results were reached where intensification factors could be brought to bear in their complexity. Skilled management and planning activity under enterprise party organization leadership is a crucial link in the chain for tapping sources for increasing efficiency. Experiences and points of departure for management are presented based on analyses of a large number of enterprises.

Effectiveness and Its Planning

[Summary of article by Dr Georg Ritzschke, chief, department for effectiveness planning, Economic Research Institute, State Planning Commission; pp 672-678]

[Text] Growing efficiency demands placed on public labor require the proper definition and planning of efficiency. Efficiency planning would uncover reserves for efficiency increases and help in their use. Good results have to be further developed. To that end, efficiency accounting must be included in management and planning activity. It presupposes clear ideological position and requires perfecting the orchestration of planning.

### From Research to Production: Quality

[Summary of article by Ernst Hoberg, economist, director general, Ernst Thaelmann Heavy Machinebuilding Combine (VEB), Magdeburg; pp 679-684]

[Text] The struggle by the working people in the Ernst Thaelmann Heavy Machinebuilding Combine in Magdeburg for the highest quality of products includes all phases of production: Market analysis and solicitation of orders, long-range planning of commodity quality, research, development, projection, construction and technology, and finally the production itself. Target-directed political-ideological work and an uncompromising analysis of the international market are an indispensable prerequisite for this.

### Clara Zetkin at the Turning Point in World History

[Summary of article by Dr Alexander Abusch, member, SED Central Committee and EINHEIT editorial board; pp 693-701]

[Text] Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German workers movement and a passionate fighter against imperialism and war, a socialist patriot and glowing internationalist, belongs among the German leftist leaders who recognized the Great Socialist October Revolution as the start of a new epoch in world history. Associated in intimate friendship with Lenin and Nadezha Krupskaya, her love for the Soviet power, which she passionately defended against all slander, became a source of strength for her own work. Clara Zetkin's internationalist legacy lives on in the fraternal alliance between the SED and the CPSU.

### Physical Culture and Sport in Our Lives

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Erbach, state secretary for physical culture and sport; and Rudi Hellmann, social science graduate, department chief in SED Central Committee; pp 702-709]

[Text] Physical culture and sport have a firm place in the socialist way of life. They serve the people's relaxation, recreation and well-being, strengthen their capabilities and help in the all round development of socialist personality. Task and consequences are being derived from the Ninth Party Congress decisions, such as developing the mass character of physical culture and sport, regular extracurricular sports activities, the strengthening of sports societies, and the recruiting, training and advanced training of the cadres.

## The Ideological Education Work of the PZPR

[Summary of article by Wieslaw Klimczak, PZPR Central Committee candidate; chief of CC's department for education work; pp 710-719]

[Text] Starting out with Lenin's thesis on the unity of ideology, politics and economics and with the progress made since the Sixth Party Congress in the field of ideology, the author analyses the main content and objective in the popularization of the party's social and economic policy, the principles of overt propaganda for Marxist-Leninist theory, the inseparable unity of patriotic and internationalist education, basic issues of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the road to more effective propaganda]

## A Hypocritical Campaign Against the Interests of the Peoples

[Summary of article by Dr Erich Huettner, political researcher in SED Central Committee; pp 720-728]

[Text] The author reveals the true purpose of the defamation campaign against the socialist countries which -- allegedly carried on on behalf of human rights -- in fact serves to render more difficult for the masses in the capitalist countries the fight for the recognition and realization of their human rights, torpedo detente and peaceful coexistence and interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. The author proves that the rights of personality are factually guaranteed only in socialism.

## Militarism Today--Chief Enemy of Detente and Security

[Summary of article by Col Dr Albrecht Charisius, GDR Military History Institute; and Dr Klaus Engelhardt, department head in GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 729-736]

[Text] Postwar change has not changed the essence of militarism but only modified the conditions of its existence and its manifestations, characterized by a number of special features the most important of which are: the formation of the military-industrial complex, the conclusions drawn by the military from the revolution in military affairs, new features in the armed forces' exercise of their function, and the internationalization processes of militarism.



## The Crisis of Government Finances in the Capitalist Countries

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Hemberger, department for political economy of capitalism, SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College; and Eckbert Krappe, economist, scientific researcher in the same party college department; pp 737-745]

[Text] Government finances are in a crisis in all imperialist countries. Government deficits are their most conspicuous symptom. The worsening discrepancy between government revenues and expenditures reflects the profound contradiction between the tasks of the imperialist state and its government finances in shoring up the exploiter system and the high monopoly profits on the one hand and its limited possibilities, on the other. More and more the attempt is being made to resolve this conflict at the expense of the working people. More and more clearly the government finance crisis reveals itself as a chronic process within the scope of the general crisis of capitalism.

## Some Aspects of the Development of Artistic Culture

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Yuriy Y. Barabash, director, Maxim Gorki Institute for World Literature, USSR Academy of Sciences; pp 746-754]

[Text] Life asks new questions about the development of artistic culture. Their most efficient answers come through a closer coordination and combination of efforts by the scientists in the countries of the socialist community. The recently established multilateral commission of the socialist countries for problems in the theory of culture and the literary and artistic sciences has outlined a long-term program for joint research in this field that conforms to the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and those of the party congresses of the other fraternal parties.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

TEXT OF NEW LABOR CODE PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 18, 22 Jun 77, pages 185-227, gives the full text of the new GDR labor code of 16 June 1977. The following table of contents shows the breakdown of the code:

- Chapter 1: Principles of the socialist labor code, articles 1-17
- Chapter 2: Management of the enterprise and participation of the workers, articles 18-37
- Chapter 3: Conclusion, amendment, and cancellation of the employment contract, articles 38-70
- Chapter 4: Work organization and socialist work discipline, articles 71-94
- Chapter 5: Wages and bonuses, articles 95-128
- Chapter 6: Vocational training, articles 129-144
- Chapter 7: Training and advanced training, articles 145-159
- Chapter 8: Working hours, articles 160-188
- Chapter 9: Vacations, articles 189-200
- Chapter 10: Health protection and industrial safety, articles 201-222
- Chapter 11: Intellectual, cultural, and sports activities and social services for workers in the enterprises, articles 223-239
- Chapter 12: Special rights of working wives and mothers, articles 240-251
- Chapter 13: Workers' responsibilities in accordance with labor law, articles 252-266

- Chapter 14: Compensation liability of the enterprise, articles 267-273
- Chapter 15: Social insurance for workers and employees, articles 274-290
- Chapter 16: Control of adherence to labor law regulations, articles 291-295
- Chapter 17: Determination of labor dispute cases and of litigation in the area of social insurance for workers and employees, articles 296-305

This issue of GESETZBLATT, pages 228-230, also contains the introductory law, dated 16 June 1977, to the above labor code.

CSO: 2300

FRG PROTESTANTS FINANCE GDR CHURCH CONSTRUCTION

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 17 Jun 77 p 12

[Unattributed article with East Berlin dateline: "Western Millions for Church Construction in the GDR"]

[Text] "It's almost a miracle," admits the Protestant Church Association in the GDR: more than 50 churches between the Elbe and the Oder are at present being restored or newly built with money from the West. The SED officials gave their approval after some delay and included the church construction projects in their planning. Building materials will be procured when necessary for foreign exchange. It has become known in East Berlin that more than 20 million West-marks have been spent up to now for GDR church construction. At least 30 additional churches are to be completed by 1980. The East Berlin leadership is contributing about 800,000 GDR marks to it annually.

The best known projects which are being restored in this way are the Thomas Church in Leipzig and the Matthew Church in Dresden. The largest West-mark contribution, 3.77 million, will go to the Nikolai Church in Potsdam, damaged in World War II. It is the dominant building in the center of the bezirk town situated southwest of Berlin after the SED in the 50's had the garrison church and the town palace, similarly affected in the war, torn down.

After more than 3 years of intensive work, the scaffolding on the Nikolai Church is coming down. The outer facade of the oblong church is almost completed. Experts especially praise the work of the stonemasons. At the present time artisans are strengthening the great cupola.

New Parish Halls and Lodgings Under Church Roofs

By 1982 the interior of this church built in classic style between 1825 and 1849 is to be redone. One unusual item: The space beneath the galleries supported by columns is being separated off in order to create almost 20 individual rooms for parish work in small groups.

Such building-in of "functional rooms" is planned by the church leadership for other churches too. It suggests itself because the churches appear far too spacious with the shrinking number of worshippers. The church in the

Mecklenburg kreis town of Hagenow is the model for this multiple utilization. In addition to parish rooms six apartments are also being built in there.

The funds granted by the protestant churches of the Federal Republic have been able to be used since 1973 for the "special construction program" established by the GDR churches. The GDR government extended to 1978 its approval given at that time. In many places there were difficulties in the beginning, because SED officials had ideological "stomach-aches." It was argued in local party headquarters that the work of the Church would be stimulated with the restoration of the churches and not "dried up," as appeared to be the long-range goal of SED policy.

#### Church Leadership Offered 40 Buildings to the State

The church leaderships have been able to overcome these reservations of officials. In the relaxation of the attitude of the official party towards the churches, noted since early 1976, the East Berlin leadership surprised the bishops with an offer: The Protestant and Catholic church leaderships may build parish houses in new construction complexes. "We didn't dare to hope for this," said a church representative.

Money from the West, among other funds, is also to help in these church constructions. The Protestants plan soon to build houses of their own in 10 new construction areas. The Catholics are likewise discussing several parish centers.

They are not to be demonstrative churches, stresses the Protestant church leadership. Even "a shop with adjoining rooms between a dairy outlet and a dry-cleaner" would sometimes suffice. With some concern the church leaderships wonder whether they will have enough collaborators and parishioners in the future to use these new buildings.

It is added, without circumlocution: "We already have a surfeit of buildings in many places." The Protestant Church Association has up to now offered 40 church buildings to the GDR Government for general use. Several churches were rebuilt according to state plans. One example: The former Franciscan Church in Frankfurt on the Oder was converted into a concert hall.

6108

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

'NEPSZABADSAG' CARRIES SCHMIDT'S 4 JULY TOAST TO KADAR

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Jul 77 p 3 AU

[Apparent text of toast proposed by FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at 4 July Bonn, Bad Godesberg, dinner given by him in honor of MSZMP Central Committee First Secretary Janos Kadar: "Helmut Schmidt" Our Relations Are Developing Well, and We Wish To Continue This in All Areas"]

[Excerpt] Mr First Secretary, I am certain that we are both of the opinion that West German-Hungarian relations are developing in the correct direction and that we wish to continue this development in all areas. At the same time, we regard the continued development of our bilateral relations as a contribution to the development of cooperation effected on an all-European level.

Beyond this, the interests of our states are in many respects parallel regarding the solution of international problems, which enables us to intensify our cooperation also in this connection. I would note, as an example, policy aimed at a continuation of European security and cooperation, efforts aimed at arms control and disarmament on a European and world level and resolving problems arising from the relationship between industrial and developing countries.

Your country has made significant initiatives with regard to the policy of detente and Hungary remains actively interested in continuing this policy. In this direction, there is complete agreement between us.

Currently in Belgrade 35 participating countries are preparing a follow-up meeting to the first European security and cooperation conference, a meeting that will be held in the autumn, also in Belgrade. We expect the Belgrade meeting to continue, in a constructive spirit, the process of the implementation of the final document signed in Helsinki, to draw up a critical, but objective balance sheet on what we have attained and to provide guidance on means to better implement the contents of the final document.

If we want the policy of detente to succeed, then, parallel with it, we must go all out to set limits to the arms race. My government will continue to

support specific and balanced steps suitable to effectively reduce the danger of a military confrontation.

This applies to both the Vienna talks and the Geneva Disarmament Conference, but also to the extraordinary UN General Assembly Session to be held on disarmament next year. We are following the talks underway between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of nuclear-strategic weapons with great attention. Irrespective of their size and military strength, all participating states are equally interested in the policy of detente not being endangered by a lack of progress in the area of disarmament.

We would gladly welcome an expansion of cooperation between the East and West European industrial countries for the sake of a rearrangement of North-South relations. Despite all efforts, the difference of growth between industrial and developing countries has not diminished, but rather increased. This causes us great concern, Helmut Schmidt said, adding that he is following with approving interest the Soviet proposal to draw the oil exporting countries into the all-European Conference on energy matters.

Countries that depend to such an extent on foreign trade as the Hungarian People's Republic and the FRG realize more than the others that the critical economic and political phenomena arising from world economic disparities affect all of us equally.

The Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation has produced partial results. The dialog continues, and the FRG is prepared to contribute to it. However, a worldwide problem is involved that can only be resolved through the joint efforts of all countries. That is why we have invited the Soviet Union and the rest of the CEMA countries to London to participate in this dialog.

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

'NEPSZABADSAG' PUBLISHES KADAR TOAST AT 4 JULY BONN DINNER

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Jul 77 p 3 AU

[Apparent text of toast by MSZMP Central Committee First Secretary Janos Kadar at 4 July dinner given in his honor by FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bad Godesberg in Bonn: "Janos Kadar: Our Cooperation Serves Equally Our People's Interests and Detente"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chancellor, ladies and Gentlemen:

First of all, permit me, Mr Chancellor, to express my sincere gratitude for the invitation, the cordial reception, the remarks addressed to me and, particularly, what you have said about our people, the Hungarian people, and relations between our countries.

I am fulfilling what I have been charged with when I convey to you, the leader of the Federal Government, the greetings and good wishes of the Presidential Council and government of the Hungarian Republic. I can state with authority that our public opinion, the Hungarian people, approves our meeting and agrees with the development of our relations.

This is my first visit in the FRG, but I have had the opportunity to meet you, esteemed Mr Chancellor, in Helsinki, during the final phase of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. I have favorable recollections from this meeting. We were both present at a historic event which provided a long-term program for the development of relations among the governments of the European countries and a settlement of their problems. By signing the final document, we have adopted an unequivocal stand in favor of strengthening peace and security and cooperation among peoples.

Relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the FRG--I am glad to be able to say--are settled and good, and they have been fruitfully developing for quite some time. We have developed numerous, mutually beneficial forms of cooperation in the economic and cultural areas. We have overcome many obstacles in coming to the present point, but the patient and tenacious efforts have produced results. Also in our case, it has been proven that the different nature of social systems and affiliation to opposing alliance systems do not hinder mutually beneficial relations. The Hungarian People's



Republic is prepared to do its best, also in the future, for the development of cooperation. It is to our satisfaction that our efforts to this end coincide with the FRG Government's views. We are convinced that we thus serve equally our people's interests and the spreading of international detente.

We regard also the development of our economic and trade relations as favorable on the whole. The FRG is one of our most important foreign economic partners and there is every indication that it will remain so in the future as well, particularly if our economic relations can be made more balanced than they are now. As before, trade is the main area of economic cooperation, but, in addition, the role of cooperative ventures in production and cooperation in third markets is constantly increasing. Our discussions show that our endeavors toward long-term economic cooperation are approved by the FRG Government and economic circles, and specific steps will be taken to eliminate obstacles to cooperation.

We attach great significance to the development of our cultural and scientific and touristic and sports relations also.

In the next few days, our foreign ministers will sign the first cultural agreement between the two countries. We welcome the fact that hundreds of thousands visit each others' country annually and that of the tourists coming here Hungarians represent an appropriate share.

When we acknowledge with justified satisfaction that we have developed a mutually beneficial form of cooperation in numerous areas between the two countries, we must not forget that numerous possibilities still are waiting to be exploited. Our present meeting provides the opportunity for us to examine these possibilities and outline the future of our bilateral relations.

Esteemed Mr Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Hungarian People's Republic consistently takes up the cudgels for the strengthening of the process of detente and the development of peaceful coexistence. The Hungarian people are ardently desirous of a lasting peace: Not even the past 32 years have erased from their minds the terrible destruction causes by the war and the memory of the 600,000 Hungarian victims of the war and fascism.

The endeavors of the Hungarian People's Republic are fully consistent with the recommendation of the final document of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. The experiences of the implementation of the final document thus far are promising. The Belgrade Conference furnishes a good possibility to review results and define further tasks. We are bent on working toward the end that this meeting should strengthen mutual trust, consolidate detente and, accordingly, accelerate the implementation of the entire final document.

We regard it as indispensable that political detente be followed by military detente. Our position is that the arms race is irreconcilable with lasting peace. Means must be found--without jeopardizing the security of any country--to halt the arms race and reduce armed forces and armaments in central

Europe. We are well aware that such problems cannot be resolved at one stroke, but none of the complex problems of the world can be resolved without a multiplication of efforts.

The Hungarian people are perturbed by the points of tension endangering peace. Therefore, also in the future, the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic will continue working toward a solution of the tensions threatening the existence of mankind and problems impeding social progress and a settlement of conflicts, whether they involve the Middle East, the African continent or other areas of the world.

We support any position that acts toward the consolidation of peace. Our public opinion--just a peace-loving people in general--has received with approval and highly values the FRG Government's efforts to normalize relations with the socialist countries. It is to our satisfaction that the FRG Government adopts a position in favor of absolute adherence to the principles guiding mutual relations between states and a strengthening of the process of detente. I warmly welcome the public statement repeated several times recently by Mr Chancellor that the Federal Government's goal is to eliminate the existing tensions and reduce all areas of friction endangering peace.

Esteemed Mr Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen, you [addressing presumably Schmidt] were kind enough to note that we had a discussion for several hours today. Permit me, too, to underscore the cordial and good atmosphere and objective and open spirit of this discussion, for which I thank you. I am pleased that we were able to conduct a useful and frank exchange of views on issues of mutual interest at our talks beginning today. I am looking forward expectantly to our talks tomorrow and to an exchange of views with other FRG leaders. I am confident that our meeting will benefit our people and foster our relations.

In the spirit of these thoughts, I raise my glass to the health of Mr Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, to the health of those present, to the prosperity of the people of the FRG, to the further development of relations between our countries and to peace.

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### KISZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS TO DISCUSS YOUTH FORUMS

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 1 Jul 77 p 7

[Article: "The Central Committee of KISZ held a meeting"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth Association held a meeting on 24 June. Also participating in the meeting were Sandor Jakab, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and section leader of the Central Committee, Dr Karoly Polinszky, minister of education, Laszlo Gal, vice-general secretary of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] and Gyorgy Nador, secretary of the National Youth Committee.

#### I

Dr Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, informed the Central Committee members about the 22 June meeting of the party's Central Committee. The Central Committee report was acknowledged with approval.

#### II

The Central Committee discussed and approved a report by Gabor Deak, the Central Committee's secretary, about the experience acquired at the membership meetings for spring evaluation and for the acceptance of action programs, and at the delegate meetings.

The 1976/77 political year closed with success, it was a period rich in events and politics. The KISZ members, the leadership groups, the members of elected bodies worked successfully in learning the resolutions of the ninth congress and in organizing to carry them out.

Interest by the KISZ members towards the party's policies continued to increase as a result of the ninth congress: during the execution of the action program they actively participated in carrying out the social and economic assignments designated by the party. Recognition of its obligations and activity in public life increased, the communist political character of the association strengthened. Carrying out last year's assignments well further

improved society's respect for the youth association. Together with KISZ members, tens of thousands of youths outside of KISZ also participated in carrying out the national assignments, particularly in the activities supporting constructive economic work, at the events of the revolutionary youth days, in the youth parliaments and in the Movement For Strong Youth. The large number of local initiatives served well in the realization of central goals.

The KISZ organizations and committees carefully prepared the spring membership meetings and delegate meetings. A decisive majority of the meetings were held outside of working hours and about 80 percent of the KISZ membership was present.

At the membership meetings the work of the basic organizations and of the KISZ members, and the activities of the leadership groups were critically evaluated. In most of the basic organizations this spurred the KISZ members on to activity, responsible expression of opinion and further strengthened the membership meeting's political significance. According to preliminary data, during the period of the spring membership meetings 19,554 resigned membership in KISZ with various reasons given, this is about 2.4 percent of the membership. The basic organization membership meetings terminated the membership status of 13,274 young people, 1.7 percent of the membership, because their activities and behavior did not correspond to the requirements for KISZ members and to their own pledges. The number of KISZ membership currently exceeds 820,000.

The Central Committee established that continuous evaluation during the year of the activities of individual KISZ members is still lacking in many places, the individual evaluations are not everywhere sufficiently thorough and consistent. Improvement on this point is the future's prime task.

The experience of KISZ elections are basically favorable: bodies and basic organizational leaderships, capable of work and able to lead, were created.

The basic organizations prepared and accepted their action program for 1977-1978. Based on the action program, the KISZ members have also designated their own individual tasks. The nationally and locally defined goals are well mirrored in the action programs and in the individually accepted assignments alike. The KISZ's every organization and entire membership are preparing with their rinv program to participate in accomplishing the social, economic and cultural goals defined by the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]. Active participation in realizing the people's economy's plan received an outstanding place in the programs of the working youth's KISZ organizations. Assignments related to mass sport movements better differentiated than before, things to be done in political training, questions of public education. But a part of the leaders of the basic KISZ organizations are not familiar enough with the determination of concrete assignments, therefore there are some formal assignment acceptances on occasion. The Central Committee called upon the steering committees to pay particular attention to assisting these basic organizations.

### III

The KISZ Central Committee discussed and accepted the report presented by Gabriella Pasztor, secretary of the Central Committee, about the 1976/77 youth parliaments.

In the interest of supervising the execution of the youth law and of designating what needs to be done in the future, the youth parliaments were called into session for the second time between September 1976 and March 1977. The conferences were significant events in domestic politics of the given time, important forums of the socialist democracy. At the parliaments held in the decisive majority of the cases outside of working hours, about two-thirds of those within the 14-29 years age group were present, and more than 200,000--the majority of them KISZ members--spoke up. Meritorious work was done at the parliaments, the harmony of rights and obligations was realized. The majority of the young people who spoke talked politics well and with responsibility spoke primarily about society's problems, brought real problems to the surface and in the great majority of the cases also made specific suggestions for the ways of correcting the problems. There were also many work competition announcements and pledges at the conferences, which serves the realization of the tasks before the enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, primarily for the fulfillment of the people's economy's 1977 annual plan.

There were fewer unfounded observations resulting from the lack of information than in the previous, 1974 parliaments. At the same time it was also obvious that a significant portion of the young people still are not sufficiently familiar with the regulations and measures taken in their interest.

Among the social policy problems and tasks--in spite of the results also known by the young people--the housing situation still occupies the first place. Many dealt with the improvement of working conditions, with the questions of moral and financial incentives, with the scholarship system, with improving the level of provisions in the workers' lodgings and colleges. There were many observations about improving the level of teaching material and notes supply and of trade training, about specializing within certain occupations, about assistance for further education while working, modernization of advanced training in one's occupation, about the spending of free time, about better utilization of the cultural and sport establishments.

The KISZ Central Committee requested the Council of Ministers to take the necessary steps for solving the problems and using the suggestions recorded at the youth parliaments. The Central Committee recommended to the attention of the trade union and cooperative interest organs that in their work they should use the experiences of the youth parliaments and provide aid in solving the problems which affect youth. The youth parliaments form an important part of our growing socialist democracy. Therefore the Central Committee considers it necessary to bring the youth parliament system into better harmony with the events of our society's life; they suggest that the Council of Ministers, the SZOT and the KISZ Central Committee together develop the parliament's future system.

RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY NECESSARY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA No 9, May 77 pp 18-23

[Article by Dr Nicolae Ecobescu: "Observance of Independence and National Sovereignty as a Basic Principle of Modern International Relations"]

[Text] Independence and national sovereignty are the culmination of the Romanian people's unremitting, time-tried struggle for national liberation and rebirth, the fruit of their ceaseless efforts and sacrifices. But their independence, gained by constant struggle, was never complete until that epoch-making change in Romania's history, combining national with social liberation in an inseparable dialectical unity, was to open the page of socialism in the annals of the nation on 23 August 1944.

All that the Romanian people have accomplished in the course of a century, the radical revolutionary changes that have been made in modern Romanian society, the great advances in building the new order under party leadership in the last few decades, and the resolution of the many vicissitudes of history and the natural disasters that have often struck Romania all bear witness to the predominant role of sovereignty and independence in the life of a nation. Romania's experience is a cogent demonstration of the conclusion, also confirmed by man's general historical development, that any people's freedom and progress are guaranteed by the acquisition and constant consolidation of their independence. Only a real independence enables an entire people to lead a free and honorable life while participating in extensive and fruitful international collaboration.

Objective Laws of Social Development

Ever since human society reached a certain stage of development, national sovereignty has been a constant of man's evolution and one of the basic aims of historical progress. The constantly growing number of sovereign states is a clear example of this trend. Perusal of a historical atlas clearly reveals the contrast between the political map of the last century, marked in general by a few empires dominating and exploiting most of the globe, and the political map of today's world with over 150 states covering the entire planet, and the process of formation of nations and national states is still going on.

No accident, the proliferation of national states as a manifestation of the people's will to freedom and independence is an objective process of social development that arises and expands with the development of productive forces accompanying society's transition from lower to higher historical stages. It is accordingly natural that of all historical eras our period of transition from the capitalist to the socialist order, the most advanced one that man has known, should be chiefly characterized by the most intensive manifestation of the people's will to decide their own destinies. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his address to the joint session in March 1977 of the highest authorities of our party and state, the present changes in the world are characterized by "the increasingly strong assertion of the peoples' will to do away with the imperialist policy of domination and oppression, of force and dictate, to develop in freedom and complete mastery of their fate and their national resources, and to promote a new policy of equality and respect among nations and of multilateral collaboration in a climate of confidence and security."

Both the newly independent nations and the older or more mature ones in the West and among the socialist countries are attaching major importance to the national factor. As it has been rightly remarked, in the period of this end of a century the national factor with its many and varied consequences will remain primarily important to all states regardless of their size, and "It would unquestionably be a grave error to overlook, underrate or forget it." (1)

Like all objective processes of social-historical development, assertion of national sovereignty and independence requires a constant struggle with the backward forces opposing it. From this standpoint all history from the earliest times appears as a constant confrontation between the trends toward domination or hegemony and the peoples' aspiration to freedom and independence from others. They spared no sacrifice to gain and defend their independence and to maintain their national existence, indicating how deeply the desire for freedom is implanted in their consciousness.

Acquisition and consolidation of independence constitute a high motivation for every people's progress, which progress is held up by foreign domination or oppression but never stopped, as illustrated by the historical development of the Romanian and other peoples.

It may be said that the process of the peoples' independent assertion and their formation in independent nations have also brought about a constant improvement in the human condition. Slave status, wherein the individual was an object but not a subject of social relations, was the corollary of a socioeconomic order in which domination and exploitation reached their peak. The individual's essential rights and freedoms as well as better social conditions are gained as foreign oppression is eliminated, the struggle for national liberation being closely involved with the struggle for social liberation. Unquestionably national freedom is essential to the recognition and achievement of man's basic rights and freedoms, within the limits of the political, economic and social structures existing in various periods and states. Assertion of human dignity and assertion of national dignity are inseparable. Independence has the same value for a nation as freedom has for the human personality, both being essential to their expression and development.

## Cornerstone of Modern International Law

Reflecting the evolution of international relations and their essential realities, modern international law makes observance of sovereignty and independence one of its main provisions. The importance of sovereignty in international law is also indicated by the mention of national sovereignty and independence in many documents, headed by the UN Charter, which established this principle in Article 2 Paragraph 1 postulating the states' sovereign equality and Article 2 Paragraph 4 enforcing observance of the states' political independence.

Observance of national sovereignty and independence and the peoples' right to determine their own fate were confirmed and developed in many documents adopted over the years by the UN General Assembly, especially the "Declaration of the Principles of International Law Governing International Relations of Friendship and Cooperation in Accordance with the UN Charter" adopted in 1970. The "Declaration on Establishment of a New International Economic Order" adopted by the UN General Assembly on 1 May 1974, in turn provides that this order is to be founded upon full observance of the principles of sovereign equality of the states, self-determination of all peoples, prohibition of acquisition of territories by force, territorial integrity and noninterference in other states' internal affairs. The "Charter of the States' Economic Rights and Obligations," adopted by the UN General Assembly on 14 December 1974, emphasizes sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and all states' sovereign equality among the principles that are to govern economic, political and any other international relations.

The principles of national sovereignty and independence were also established in the regulations of regional intergovernmental organizations and the documents adopted by international conferences. For instance the political declaration adopted by the Conference of Unaligned Countries in Colombo (August 1976) emphasizes the support accorded by the unaligned countries' movement to the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination, every country's right to pursue its own strategy of development and participate in the settlement of international problems, and the importance of the states' real and complete independence.

The Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki, August 1975), in referring to the principles the participating nations are required to observe in international relations, defines in depth the principle of sovereign equality, equality of rights, the peoples' right to self-determination and their corollaries, namely noninterference in other states' affairs and abstention from the use or threat of force.

The importance of the principle of national sovereignty and independence is clearly illustrated by the integral tie of a dialectical nature between this principle and the other basic principles of international law. Sovereignty and independence ultimately predetermine the existence and development of such essential postulates as equality of rights, inviolability of the states' political independence and territory, noninterference in their internal affairs, and abstention from force and the threat of force. In their turn each of these principles and all of them together contribute to the defense and consolidation of sovereignty. By implication, observance of the other principles of international



law depends upon observance of sovereignty, just as the application of the other principles guarantees sovereignty and protects it from violation and undermining. And on the other hand violation of sovereignty is at the same time an implicit violation of the other postulates. Violation of any principle of international law seriously impairs sovereignty and may do it the greatest harm.

The very existence of international law and its standards depends on observance of sovereignty because "no general standard of international law nor any general interpretation negating the principle of sovereignty is conceivable, since the existence of the sovereign states and the relations between them are the prerequisites for the existence of any standard of international law and of international law as a whole." (2)

In view of the vital part played by sovereignty in the very lives of the peoples, in international relations and in international law, its importance will steadily increase in the future in accordance with the basic patterns of our era.

#### A Basic Requirement of a New World Order

The obligation to mutual observance of national sovereignty and independence flows from the very existence of the states and is fundamental to the national state system as a primary reality of our era and an essential for building the new world order. No state can fully assert itself in foreign relations or make its full contribution to peace and international collaboration if it is not its own master or if its sovereign rights and attributes are violated.

Foremost among the basic obligations of the states, flowing from the right to existence, sovereignty and independence, is that of respecting every state's personality. This obligation entails respect for the nature, individuality and dignity of the states and their right to a free and independent existence. Each state is obligated to respect the personalities of the other states, including the political, economic and cultural elements of this personality. Individually and as a whole, these elements require unconditional respect for every nation's freely chosen political system and the ways and means of socioeconomic development it employs in exercising the right to self-determination and determination of its institutions and laws.

These basic principles of international relations and the spirit of the Helsinki documents are flagrantly violated by some circles in the West who, under the pretext of "defending the rights of man," are making a sustained effort to induce Romanian citizens of various nationalities to emigrate from their native land. The false "humanism" of this profoundly harmful effort, actively supported by such reactionary hotbeds as the "Free Europe" radio station, actually conceals the attempt to disorganize some sectors of our society, to undermine the socialist order, and to create difficulties for the Romanian state.

The problem of emigration is far from a humanitarian one but an important political question of every people, directly affecting every state's national sovereignty and independence and consequently the entirety of international relations. Therefore the actions of the retrograde neofascist circles constitute a serious interference in Romania's internal affairs and a flagrant violation of Romania's

state sovereignty and independence as well as the Romanian people's sacred right to develop independently and to decide their own fate according to their own will. Resolutely rejecting these actions foreign to international morality and laws, our party and state do not think they should be passively tolerated but on the contrary a firm attitude of opposition and rejection should be adopted by all governments and politicians and by democratic public opinion.

By virtue of the basic principles of international law all states must strictly observe the entirety of rights and attributes inherent in national sovereignty and independence, abstaining from any interference in other states' affairs or any act that would impair or prevent the full exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. The provisions of the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe clearly and precisely specify the nature of this obligation: "Each of the participating states will respect the sovereign equality and individuality of the other, as well as all the rights inherent in sovereignty and comprised by their sovereignty, especially every state's right to equality before the law, territorial integrity, freedom and political independence. They will each also respect the other's right to choose and freely develop its political, social, economic and cultural system as well as the right to determine its laws and regulations."

In accordance with the obligation to respect the other states' sovereignty and independence, every state must refrain from using, encouraging or tolerating political, military, economic or other measures intended to compel another state to subordinate the exercise of its sovereign rights and prerogatives or advantages of any kind. The particular nature of this obligation should be pointed out because not only the future of every nation but also the fate of peace and international collaboration and the construction of a better and more just world depend upon its consistent fulfillment in the relations among all states.

Actually a world of sovereign states permits the various nations "to live by different customs and doctrines as long as their independence is respected."

(3) Providing for the full and unconditional observance of the people's sovereignty and independence is now a major task of all mankind. No one has the right to encroach upon these supreme values, nor can anyone remain indifferent to their disregard or violation. It is a high duty of every state and of international society as a whole to condemn interference in other countries' internal affairs, to sanction any violations of the sovereignty and independence of the nations of the world, and to fully assert new relations in international affairs. "Preservation of national freedom and every people's right to a free life and self-determination is essential to all peoples' freedom! No nation can be free if it fails to recognize other nations' freedom and accepts the subjugation of another nation or the violation of another people's freedom and dignity!" (4)

#### Essential Consequences

As an essential attribute of the state, sovereignty expresses, on the internal level, the supremacy of the state power, while in the field of international relations it expresses the independence of the same power from any other power. These two elements are always inseparably united and dialectically interdependent. The disappearance of one of them is enough to completely change the nature

of the state power as a sovereign power. Consolidation of a state's sovereignty, that is its sovereign power, means continuous consolidation of its two inseparable components, namely its supremacy and independence. Neglect of one of them has a bad effect upon the others and of course upon sovereignty as such. On the other hand consolidation of one favorably affects the others and helps to strengthen the sovereign state power.

Sovereignty and independence mean an independent existence free of any domination, insult or patronage. They presuppose a free national existence, the opportunity to develop according to internal interests and wishes, to participate on an equal basis in international affairs, and to play a full role in the great family of nations of the world. The right to a free existence, sovereignty and independence gives rise to a coherent series of highly important consequences, particularly every state's right to choose its course of socioeconomic development without interference, the right to development, progress and prosperity, the right to peace and security, the right to its entire national heritage, the right to respect for its personality, dignity and legitimate interests, the right to equality and equal treatment in international society, the right to participate in the consideration and solution of international problems, the right to trade and take part in international economic cooperation, the right of access to technical-scientific advances, and the right to participate in the international organizations.

The principle of national sovereignty and independence also entails a wide range of such essential prerogatives of the state as organization of its political and socioeconomic activities according to its aspirations, will and interests with no outside interference or coercion, determination of its own foreign policy without outside interference, freedom of judgment, action and initiative in international relations, exercise of control and jurisdiction over all its territory, etc.

The first prerequisite for a state's existence as a free and independent entity and its development as it wishes is its safety from the danger of any foreign interference or any violation of its territorial integrity. According to modern international law, the sovereign state exercises supremacy over its own territorial domain and can use its territory according to its will and interests with no outside interference or coercion whatsoever. It is the obligation of all states to respect territorial integrity and state borders, to refrain from violations of national territory and air or sea space, and in general to abstain from any acts that would impair any state's right to exercise its competence and jurisdiction over its whole territory without interference.

The principle of national sovereignty and independence also entails every people's right to ownership of their national resources and to determine their use and the results of their labor in sovereign fashion according to their own interests and aspirations. Exercise of this right is an essential attribute of state sovereignty and a sine qua non for the nations' independent development and progress. And today its observance is one of the basic prerequisites for a new international economic order that will fully guarantee that no discriminatory or coercive measures of any kind will be taken against the states resolved to exercise this right.

By its very nature sovereignty is exercised in all areas of society, including politics, economics, science, culture, defense or any other activity. It is applied uniformly, coherently and regularly everywhere. Exercise of sovereignty is not dispersed, sectorial or isolated. It cannot be exercised in any given sector and not in the others at the same time. It cannot be political without also being economic, cultural etc. Just as the various sectors of social activity are not isolated from each other but form a single whole characterized by interaction and interdependence of its components, sovereignty is exercised in the same way. It is simultaneously and generally applicable to all fields of activity, and there are interconnections, influences and reciprocal determinations among its various elements.

Sovereignty is primarily characterized by its universality, which reflects the general validity and application of the principle in time and space. This means that the principle of national sovereignty and independence (a) is applied to relations between all states without exception, (b) it is applied to any kind of international bilateral or multilateral relations including activity of international organizations (worldwide, continental or regional) and international meetings (conferences, congresses etc.) of any nature, and (c) it is applied to international relations in all fields of activity, political, economic, technical, scientific, military, cultural etc. No reason or pretext can be invoked to justify violations of the peoples' national sovereignty and independence.

#### Dialectical Unity of Sovereignty and International Law

It is often maintained that the actual practice of international cooperation entails the "limitation" or "self-limitation" of sovereignty. (5) In this connection a clear line must be drawn between cooperation and the theory of "limitation" or "self-limitation" of sovereignty, which is tantamount to abandonment by the states of their sovereign rights. Cooperation is inevitable, just as participation of all states in the international division of labor amounts to an objective necessity. But in neither case can there be any "limitation" or "self-limitation" of sovereignty, or sacrifice of the states' and peoples' sovereign rights. In the exercise of their sovereign prerogatives the states cooperate with each other, conclude international agreements, establish by common accord rules of conduct, rights and obligations to which, by virtue of the same exercise of sovereignty, they are committed and which they must observe. The necessity of strict observance of national sovereignty and independence and the states' sovereign rights governs the whole conduct of international relations, all collaboration, and in general the participation of the states in the worldwide circulation of goods and values.

Cooperation in the present period, with its pronounced interdependence and global problems, will be characterized by its universality and expansion over the entire planet as well as the pursuit of major aims that will provide for the future development of civilization on our planet, namely peace and security, development and progress, general disarmament, justice, equality and equity under a new world order. It is ultimately a matter of achieving through cooperation man's ancient aspiration to something better, his hope of freedom, prosperity, dignity and happiness. It is a question, actually, of the nations' desire to live and develop together under freedom and to determine, individually and by

collaboration, the present and future as they wish with no threat of outside interference of any kind or for any reason.

Of course as it usually happens in the case of social phenomena and institutions, contradictory views on national sovereignty and independence have been and still are expressed. There have been and still are conflicting opinions and truly anachronistic interpretations and assertions, including the tendency to attribute an absolute character to sovereignty and independence and accordingly to deny the very existence of any real international law. (6) Reminiscent of a period long past when states could resort without restriction to force or the threat of force, when domination and enslavement of other nations were permitted and even protected by international law, the tendency to absolutize sovereignty has no basis in today's conditions. This is demonstrated by the great improvement made in international law and international relations by abolishing the "right" to start wars and other acts of aggression, by condemning colonialism and neocolonialism, by outlawing the domination, exploitation and subjugation of other peoples as well as racial and other discrimination, and by proclaiming and establishing many basic rights and obligations for states, including the right to free existence, sovereignty and independence.

This situation requires a correct interpretation of and approach to sovereignty if the distortions to which its detractors most often resort are to be avoided. From this standpoint Prof J. P. A. Francois rightly judges the importance of "forming a correct opinion as to the nature of sovereignty, since there are many who, on the basis of an outmoded representation of it, regard state sovereignty as a great obstacle in the path of international cooperation and think international organization depends upon complete elimination of sovereignty." (7)

Sovereignty is not absolute and therefore does not accord states the right to act chaotically or anarchically in their international relations. No state is entitled to promote, encourage or perform arbitrary acts in the field of foreign relations, or to disregard or purely and simply violate other states' interests and rights, to impair their sovereignty, or in general to ignore or violate the rules of coexistence and behavior established by international law.

Sovereignty means correctness, responsibility and legality. The sovereign state cannot act just as it pleases in its international relations. It is well established today that in its international conduct every state must respect the other states' interests and rights because respect for its own rights and interests ultimately depends on it ("Respect to be respected"). Every state must strictly conform to the standards and principles of international law, which it has helped to develop or accepted by virtue of its sovereignty and independence. In the exercise of its sovereign prerogatives it must fulfill in good faith the obligations it has voluntarily assumed.

Of course in the actual conduct of international affairs there are many illegal acts and violations of the rules of international law and morality. But it would be wrong to condemn the institution of sovereignty for acts committed in disregard and flagrant violation of the standards and principles of international coexistence. The state or group of states who commit these acts are responsible for them. Therefore sovereignty as an institution and concept is not to be

legally and morally condemned but rather the policy that led to these crimes. It is also clear that the tendency to absolutize sovereignty can only serve the great imperialist powers by justifying acts of force, aggression and dictation against the small and medium states that are designed to invade foreign territories, enslave other peoples, perpetuate colonial and neocolonial domination, and seize other nations' wealth and resources. (8)

There is no worse error than the assumption of "incompatibility" between state sovereignty and international law. First of all the elementary fact must be recalled and emphasized that international law owes its existence to sovereignty, the sovereign states and the relations established between them, so that international law cannot "dispense" with the institution and concept of sovereignty when its very existence depends upon state sovereignty. "There would be no international law without sovereign states with equal rights." (9) And since international law with its rules and institutions proceeds from the voluntary agreement of the states, it is clear that no standard, principle or provision of this law is binding upon a sovereign state unless the latter has participated in its preparation or expressly accepted it later in accordance with the treaty or treaties that establish it or tacitly by way of international custom.

"Sovereignty is the main principle of the whole structure of modern international law without which it would be quite impossible to outline the system of international law or to recognize and evaluate its features." (10) And it is the very mission of international law to promote and protect state sovereignty and independence. As we know, most of the rules of international law are intended to protect sovereignty and independence from threats from abroad.

The only noteworthy logical and rational conclusion favors both the consolidation of sovereignty as the basis of international law and the consolidation of this law as a means of defending and guaranteeing sovereignty. "The best guarantee of sovereignty in an interdependent world... is an effective international law, so that the latter's consolidation is in the states' long-term interest..." (11) For all these reasons "It is wrong to think there is necessarily any opposition between the doctrine of national sovereignty and international law." (12)

In accordance with the Romanian people's aspirations and basic interests, which agree with the hopes for peace, good will and collaboration of all peoples of the world, our party and state are acting consistently and energetically on the international level to institute a new kind of relations based on full equality and mutual respect that will guarantee every nation its independent development and the opportunity to fully establish its socioeconomic progress.

Defense of the peoples' right to a free and independent existence is a distinctive feature of Romania's intensive and constructive activity on the international level. Romania is actively militating both bilaterally and multilaterally for the promotion, consolidation and development of the principle of national sovereignty and independence and the other basic postulates of international law and relations. The official declarations, general cooperative accords, treaties of friendship and collaboration, joint communiques and many other documents concluded by the Romanian government with states on all continents have attracted general attention by their notable contribution to the establishment

of the high political, legal and moral precepts of modern international law. The same is true of Romania's worthy contribution to the codification and progressive development of the standards and principles of law and justice under the various authorities of the United Nations.

Resolutely condemning political manifestations of force and dictation, our party and state take a firm attitude against impairment and undermining of other states' sovereignty and independence, fully support the oppressed peoples' fight for liberation, and invariably side with the countries victimized by imperialist intervention and aggression. Romania is firmly convinced that only unswerving respect for all states' sovereignty and independence and for all the standards and principles of international law can establish a true climate of peace and collaboration and international conditions favorable to all nations' independent development and their unrestricted advance on the path of progress and civilization.

#### FOOTNOTES

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